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ABSTRACT

In this study on interracial contact and attitudes of black and white students, questionnaires were administered to students, predominantly black, in predominantly white high schools in Kansas City, Missouri, and surrounding areas. The responses of the 529 black students indicated that contact with whites and liking for whites are positively related and that these variables influence attitudes on matters involving civil rights. The responses of the 599 white students indicated that contact with blacks and liking for blacks are positively related, and that attitude toward blacks is an intervening variable between negative stereotyping of blacks and contact with blacks. For both groups of students, a circular process appears to be at work wherein contact leads to increased acceptance and increased acceptance generates receptivity for additional contact. Mediated by variables involving interracial trust and stereotyping, this process appears to have had a measurable impact on the attitudes of students in the sample even though they have relatively little contact with and a high level of distrust for persons of the other race. (Author/JW)

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INTERRACIAL ATTITUDES AND CONTACT AMONG BLACK
AND WHITE STUDENTS IN A METROPOLITAN AREA

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Questionnaires administered to students attending three predominantly-black central city high schools and six predominantly-white suburban high schools in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area were used to obtain information on the interracial contact and attitudes of each group.

Three-way tabulations on the responses of the 529 black students indicated that contact with whites and liking for whites are positively related and that these variables influence attitudes on matters involving civil rights.

Three-way tabulations on the responses of the 599 white students indicated that contact with blacks and liking for blacks are positively related and that attitude toward blacks is an intervening variable between negative stereotyping of blacks and contact with blacks.

For both groups of students, a circular process appears to be at work wherein contact leads to increased acceptance and increased acceptance generates receptivity for additional contact. Mediated by variables involving interracial trust and stereotyping, this process appears to have had a measurable impact on the attitudes of students in the sample even though they have relatively little contact with and have a high level of distrust for persons of the other race.

Although much of the argument for racial integration in the schools actually is concerned with the effects of social-class destratification on the achievement of students from economically disadvantaged families (Coleman, 1966), the potential value of integration in generating positive interracial attitudes also is frequently cited as an important result of classroom contact in the schools. All too often, however, it is naively assumed that interracial contact automatically and universally results in improved intergroup attitudes and relationships among young people of differing races. In an extremely useful and thorough review of the research on attitudinal effects of contact between people of various social and national groups, Amir (1969) has pointed out that contact may have positive or

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negative results depending on the quality of the contact and the particular situation in which it takes place. Among the "favorable conditions" which appear to be present in cases where contact leads to a reduction in prejudice, Amir concluded, /p. 338/, are:

- (a) when there is equal status contact between the members of the various ethnic groups, (b) when the contact is between members of a majority group and higher status members of a minority group, (c) when an 'authority' and/or the social climate are in favor of and promote the intergroup contact, (d) when the contact is of an intimate rather than a casual nature, (e) when the ethnic intergroup contact is pleasant or rewarding, (f) when the members of both groups in the particular contact situation interact in functionally important activities or develop common goals or superordinate goals that are higher ranking in importance than the individual goals of each of the groups.

Because it is obvious that many of these conditions are not present in situations which bring white and black citizens into contact in a complex urban environment, there is reason to doubt whether the majority of interracial contacts which are taking place among youth - mostly on an "unplanned" and unguided basis - actually do result in the development of positive interracial attitudes. Several recent studies of attitudes among the general public and within specific public opinion groups tend to support the hypothesis that contact between blacks and whites more often than not is having a salutary effect in reducing interracial prejudice and stereotyping (Campbell and Schuman, 1968; Jeffries and Ransford, 1968; U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1967), but these studies are too limited in number and scope to warrant confident acceptance of the hypothesis. In this situation it is important to obtain information from a variety of settings using diverse research strategies with varying age groups in order to determine whether interracial contact is having a generally positive or negative effect on the attitudes of white and black citizens in the United States. The purpose of the present study of interracial attitudes and contacts of white and black secondary students in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area was to obtain information on this important practical and theoretical issue.

SAMPLE AND PROCEDURES

The data were collected from samples of students attending predominantly-white and predominantly-black high schools in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area. The sample of black students consists of 529 subjects from three central-city high schools at which a lengthy attitude questionnaire was administered in the spring of 1968. The sample of white students consists of 599 subjects from six suburban and suburban-type high schools at which a short questionnaire was administered in the spring of 1969.

The items and research methodology used to assess interracial attitudes and contacts were generally similar for the two samples. For the sample of black students, the most pertinent items and the response categories were as follows:

1. Do you like the average white you have met? Almost all; Most; Some; Few; Hardly Any; None.

2. About how many white persons would you say you know well?
Open-ended.
3. In general, do you trust most whites? Yes; No.
4. Do you feel it would be desirable or undesirable for our country to be separated into two nations, one black and one white? Very desirable; Desirable; Unsure; Undesirable; Very undesirable.

For the sample of white students, the pertinent items and response categories were as follows:

1. Do you like the average Negro you have met? Almost all; Most; Some; Few; Hardly any; None.
2. About how many Negroes would you say you know well? Open-ended.
3. About what percentage of Negroes do you feel you can trust?
Open-ended.
4. What are the first words you think about when you hear the term, "Negro"? Open-ended; responses were categorized into categories embracing various kinds of stereotypes after which each respondent was scored as expressing zero, one, or two or more negative stereotypes.²

Major difficulties in conducting cross-sectional attitude research of the kind described in this report are to determine whether or not correlated variables are causally interrelated and to identify the directions in which cause-and-effect are operating. To find a positive association between contact with members of another racial group and attitudes toward members of that group does not necessarily mean, for example, that contact generates favorable attitudes; such a relationship may result if respondents who have favorable attitudes toward members of another racial group interact more frequently with persons in that group than do respondents who are negatively predisposed toward persons of the other group. The fundamental strategy used to learn more about the underlying relationships responsible for correlations among the items shown above was to carry out three-way tabulations and determine whether two variables remained associated when controls thus were imposed for a third. As is indicated in the analysis of the data presented below, this procedure proved to be instructive in suggesting how inter-racial attitudes were being molded among our samples of black and white secondary students.

²Stereotype categories established after careful inspection of respondents' answers were as follows: No stereotype; Offensive or animal-like behavior; Slum-dweller; Mental inferiority; General inferiority; Inferior skills or abilities; Slow, lazy, lacking ambition; Criminal tendencies; Dirty, unclean. Inter-judge reliability in classifying response within these categories was 92.40%.

FINDINGS FOR BLACK STUDENTS

Three-way tabulations among the four items used to assess the interracial attitudes and contacts of respondents in the black sample are shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Analysis of Table 1 indicates that:

- a) For each of the three groups of students classified by number of whites known well, there appears to be an association between trust in whites and liking for whites. Among the two groups of students who know fewer than eleven whites, particularly sharp breaks in the percentages of respondents who say they trust whites occur between those students who say they like almost all, most, or some whites they have met and those who like few, hardly any, or no whites. These results indicate that for black students who know few whites, there must be a minimally positive attitude toward whites in order for trust in whites to develop and/or these students must feel some degree of trust in whites before they are likely to develop positive attitudes toward at least some whites.
- b) For students who say they trust whites, liking for whites is associated with number of whites known well. Although students in this group who know 11 or more whites have more positive attitudes toward whites than those who know ten or fewer whites, a large majority of students in both these two classifications say they like at least some whites, regardless of how many whites they know well.

Among students who do not trust whites, liking for whites is closely related to number of whites known well. It follows that contact with whites is particularly important in encouraging the development of positive attitudes toward whites among black students who do not initially trust many white persons and/or positive attitudes toward whites are particularly important in leading to subsequent contact with whites among these students.

- c) Within two of the three groups of students classified by attitude toward whites, there is a statistically significant relationship between number of whites known well and trust in whites. In each of the three categories there is a break in willingness to trust whites between students who know fewer than eleven whites as compared with students who know eleven or more whites.

Analysis of Table 2 indicates that:

- a) Attitude toward whites and number of whites known well remain associated in two out of three comparisons even after controlling for attitude toward separatism.
- b) Contact with whites does not in itself have a consistent association with attitude toward separatism when controls are provided for attitude toward whites.
- c) Although there is a trend for students who know 1-10 whites to be more rejecting of separatism if they like whites, in general views toward separatism and attitude toward whites are not related after control is imposed for number of whites known well.

Considered as a whole, these findings indicate that although a large proportion of black students in Kansas City has had few meaningful contacts with white persons and generally is highly distrustful of whites, among those who have had such contact a complex, circular process has occurred wherein underlying distrust and antipathy often have given way to a willingness to treat white persons on their individual merits and a reduced reluctance to have further contact with whites. Although the majority of respondents in our sample of black students do not know as many as eleven whites well, most have had sufficient contact with whites to recognize that white people are not all alike and to have met at least some whites with whom they have established positive personal relationships. Contact with whites, trust in whites, and non-hostile attitudes toward whites are part of an interrelated process which plays an important role in shaping the interracial orientations and relationships of black students growing up in a segregated neighborhood, and these orientations and relationships in turn apparently play a part in the formation of political viewpoints and philosophies.

FINDINGS FOR WHITE STUDENTS

Three-way tabulations among the four items used to assess the interracial attitudes and contacts of respondents in the white sample are shown in Tables 3 and 4. Analysis of Table 3 indicates that:

- a) Liking for blacks is associated with number of blacks known well even when control is imposed for trust in blacks. Although this relationship shows up most strongly among students who trust less than 21 percent of black Americans, the same tendency is statistically significant at the .05 significance level among students who trust 51-100% of blacks.

At the same time, the relation between liking for blacks and number of blacks known well seems to be dependent on a minimal sense of trust toward blacks. For students who say they trust half or more of black Americans, at least two-thirds even of those who do not know any blacks well say they like "almost all" or "most" Negroes. Among those who trust 20 percent or less of black Americans, on the other hand, at least half the respondents in each of the three groups classified by number of blacks known well say they like "few," "hardly any," or "no" blacks. That the relationship between liking for blacks and number of blacks known well is strongest among students who distrust most blacks (see above) further supports the conclusion that some minimal level of trust is an important factor in determining whether a white youngster is likely to meet and become friendly with individual black Americans.

- b) When responses are classified by liking for blacks, there is no relationship between number of blacks known well and trust in blacks except in the case of students who like "almost all" or "most" of the Negroes they have met.
- c) Favorable attitude toward Negroes is very closely and consistently related to trust in blacks even when control is imposed for number of blacks known well.

Analysis of Table 4 indicates that:

- a) Negative stereotyping of blacks is consistently related to liking for blacks independently of number of blacks known well.
- b) When account is taken of whether students are favorable or unfavorable toward the blacks whom they have met, there is no relationship between number of blacks known well and negative stereotyping of blacks. In none of the three groups of students who like "few," "hardly any," or "none" of the Negroes whom they have met does the percentage of respondents who did not negatively stereotype blacks rise as high as 50 percent, but five of the six groups of students who like at least some blacks score at least 70 percent in this category. This finding may mean that negative stereotypes of blacks tend to be particularly resistant to modification until positive feeling toward blacks reaches a minimally significant level indicative of at least some open-mindedness toward black Americans.
- c) Number of blacks known well is related to liking for blacks in two of the three categories of students classified by negative stereotyping toward blacks. This association between number of blacks known well and liking for blacks does not appear in the case of students who used two negative stereotypes of blacks. Evidently the tendencies for respondents to be more favorable toward blacks as they became better acquainted with black Americans and to become better acquainted with blacks as they develop positive attitudes toward them cease to operate strongly in the case of white youngsters who are especially prone to negatively stereotype black Americans.

Reviewing the conclusions suggested by the data in Tables 3 and 4, it appears that a circular process is at work in which favorable feelings about blacks is an intervening variable between number of blacks known well and trust in blacks. At one stage in this process number of blacks known well is associated with favorable attitudes toward blacks; this may mean that respondents who become better acquainted with black Americans tend to develop positive feelings toward them, or that development of positive feelings leads to greater willingness to meet more blacks, or both. As students become more favorable toward blacks, they tend to become less distrustful of black Americans, and those who develop enough trust to meet and respond to a black person as an individual rather than as a stimulus which triggers a deep sense of distrust become much more favorable toward blacks as they get to meet and know a few black Americans. Positive feelings toward blacks then leads, in turn, to more contact with blacks as well as a further reduction in level of distrust for blacks.

These data also allow one to envision an equivalent but opposite process wherein students who dislike the blacks whom they have met not only withdraw from or avoid subsequent contact with blacks but also become increasingly distrustful of blacks. Distrust in blacks then leads to more negative feelings toward blacks, which leads, in turn, to an even greater degree of avoidance of blacks. With little or no contact with blacks to modify these negative feelings and attitudes, individuals caught up in such a process build up an increasingly generalized distrust of all black Americans and more firmly resist or avoid opportunities for meaningful contacts with blacks.

At the same time, it also appears that liking for blacks is an intervening variable between number of blacks known well and negative stereotyping of blacks. These three variables are part of a circular process wherein contact with blacks apparently leads to an increase in favorable attitudes (or a reduction of negative attitudes) toward blacks, and increased friendliness toward blacks in turn leads to reduction in negative stereotyping of blacks and greater willingness to become better acquainted with blacks. Among respondents who are prone to express negative stereotypes about black Americans, however, this process often has not even started to operate; as shown in Table 4, 53 percent of the 84 respondents who expressed two negative stereotypes say they like "few," "hardly any," or "none" of the blacks whom they have met, and they constitute 37 percent of the group of students who dislike most blacks even though they are only 23 percent of the larger group who responded to all three items included in the table.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study are in agreement with other recent research which suggests that contact between white and black youngsters tends to result in the reduction of interracial prejudice and stereotyping and the development of positive attitudes and mutual trust between these two racial groups. The study thus offers support for a widely-held assumption that "intergroup contact tends to produce better intergroup attitudes and relations" which Amir (1969) recently cited as posing "a major task" for verification or refutation by social scientists. Although this study did not attempt to isolate and examine most of the variables (e.g., status of the participants; satisfactions derived by participants) which Amir and others have suggested are crucial in determining whether intergroup contact will have positive or negative effects on attitudes, it did indicate that a minimal level of trust frequently acquired in only a small number of interracial contacts is a prerequisite for the development of positive intergroup attitudes among black and white youngsters.

Beyond providing fairly current data on an issue of obvious importance for the study and practice of intergroup and interracial relationships, the research reported in this paper also may be of some interest to social scientists and laymen for the following reasons:

1. Data are presented which underline the relatively small amount of interracial contact and the relatively high level of mistrust that were found to exist among students attending segregated black and white high schools in a major metropolitan area.
2. Use of simple three-way tabulations of responses obtained from easy-to-administer paper-and-pencil items showed strong and unmistakable relationships between intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes. Given the presumed as well as demonstrated difficulties usually encountered in obtaining accurate data on matters as delicate as interracial relations, many researchers may find it relatively feasible and profitable to attempt to replicate the results of the present study with other groups of young people and adults in other parts of the country.

Viewed as a whole, the results of the present study may be interpreted as having both encouraging and discouraging implications for race relations in many metropolitan areas. On the one hand it may be discouraging to find evidence that positive interracial attitudes may depend on interracial contact but that presently

there is relatively little interracial contact between young people in a typical metropolitan area (Kansas City) in which the proportion of white and black youngsters attending segregated schools seems to be increasing every year. On the other hand, some observers may be encouraged to find evidence that a relatively small amount of interracial contact apparently can have an appreciable impact on intergroup attitudes even in largely or partially segregated social structures.

Longitudinal research relating changes in amount of contact to changes over time in interracial attitudes among black and white youngsters and intensive cross-sectional research relating measures of the quality of contact to the interracial attitudes of black and white youngsters would be most useful to policy-makers concerned with school desegregation plans, segregated residential patterns, and other issues involving the future of race relations in the nation's metropolitan areas. Until such studies are available, research described as well as cited in this paper should be interpreted as justifying a major national effort to give youngsters as much opportunity as possible to engage in activities providing meaningful interracial contact in schools, churches, and other social institutions.

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TABLE 1

Relationship Between Attitude Toward Whites, Trust in Whites, and Number of Whites Known Well*

1a.

About How Many White Persons Would You Say You Know Well?

	0			1-10			11 or more		
	Almost all or most		Few, hardly any, or none	Almost all or most		Few, hardly any, or none	Almost all or most		Few, hardly any, or none
	%	(N)		%	(N)		%	(N)	
Do you like the average white you have met?	31 (13)	31 (16)	02 (49)	39 (56)	31 (54)	13 (63)	64 (96)	54 (39)	33 (27)
In general, do you trust most whites? (Percent saying yes)	χ^2 could not be computed for this section of the table due to the small number in several of the cells.			$\chi^2 = 11.33; p < .005$			$\chi^2 = 7.92; p < .025$		

1b.

In General Do You Trust Most Whites?

	Yes			No		
	Almost all or most		Few, hardly any, or none	Almost all or most		Few, hardly any, or none
	%	(N)		%	(N)	
Do you like the average white you have met?	40 (4)	50 (5)	10 (1)	13 (9)	16 (11)	71 (48)
About how many						
0	40 (4)	50 (5)	10 (1)	13 (9)	16 (11)	71 (48)
1-10	47 (22)	36 (17)	17 (8)	27 (34)	29 (37)	44 (55)
11 or more	67 (61)	23 (21)	10 (9)	49 (35)	25 (18)	26 (18)
	$\chi^2 = 6.64; p < .05$			$\chi^2 = 34.71; p < .001$		

1c.

Do You Like the Average White You Have Met?

	Almost all or most			Some			Few, hardly any or none		
	0		11 or more	0		11 or more	0		11 or more
	%	(N)		%	(N)		%	(N)	
Number of whites known well									
0	31 (13)	39 (56)	64 (96)	31 (16)	31 (54)	54 (39)	02 (49)	13 (63)	33 (27)
In general, do you trust most whites? (percent saying yes)	$\chi^2 = 11.08; p < .005$			$\chi^2 = 5.27; p > .05$			$\chi^2 = 10.21; p < .005$		

*The responses of 116 students who did not respond to all three questions are omitted from the table.

TABLE 2
Relationship Between Number of Whites Known Well, Attitude
Toward Whites, and Attitude on Separation*

2a. Do You Feel It Would Be Desirable for Our Nation to be Divided Into Two Nations, One Black and One White?									
Very desirable and Desirable				Unsure			Undesirable and Very undesirable		
Do you like the average white you have met?	Almost all or most	Some	Few, hardly any, or none	Almost all or most	Some	Few, hardly any, or none	Almost all or most	Some	Few, hardly any, or none
About how many white persons would you say you know well?	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
0	15 (2)	0 (0)	85 (11)	9 (2)	62 (13)	29 (6)	20 (9)	18 (8)	62 (28)
1-10	24 (6)	24 (6)	52 (13)	20 (8)	37 (15)	42 (17)	40 (44)	32 (35)	28 (31)
11 or more	50 (12)	31 (8)	19 (5)	57 (20)	23 (8)	20 (7)	64 (65)	24 (24)	12 (12)
	$\chi^2 = 11.33; p < .005$			$\chi^2 = 4.49; p > .05$			$\chi^2 = 46.08; p < .001$		

2b. Do You Like the Average White You Have Met?									
Do you feel it would be de- sirable for this country to be divided into two na- tions, one black and one white?	Very de- sirable or De- sirable			Unde- sirable or Very undesir- able			Unde- sirable or Very undesir- able		
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
About how many white persons would you say you know well?									
0	15 (2)	15 (2)	69 (9)	0 (0)	47 (7)	53 (8)	22 (11)	25 (13)	53 (27)
1-10	10 (6)	14 (8)	76 (44)	11 (6)	27 (15)	62 (35)	21 (13)	28 (17)	51 (31)
11 or more	12 (12)	21 (20)	67 (65)	20 (8)	20 (8)	60 (24)	21 (5)	29 (7)	50 (12)
	$\chi^2 = 4.68; p > .10$			$\chi^2 = .42; p > .10$			$\chi^2 = .07; p > .10$		

TABLE 2
Relationship Between Number of Whites Known Well, Attitude
Toward Whites, and Attitude on Separation*

2c. About How Many White Persons Would You Say You Know Well?									
Do you feel it would be desir- able for this country to be divided into two nations, one black and one white?	Very de- sirable or De- sirable Unsure			Unde- sirable or Very unde- sirable			Unde- sirable or Very unde- sirable		
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Do you like the average white you have met?									
Almost all or most	15 (2)	15 (2)	69 (9)	10 (6)	14 (8)	76 (44)	12 (12)	21 (20)	67 (65)
Some	0 (0)	47 (7)	53 (8)	11 (6)	27 (15)	62 (35)	20 (8)	20 (8)	60 (24)
Few, hard- ly any, or none	22 (11)	25 (13)	53 (27)	21 (13)	28 (17)	51 (31)	21 (5)	29 (7)	50 (12)
	X ² could not be com- puted for this sec- tion of the table due to small num- bers in several of the cells.			X ² = 9.34; p > .05			X ² = 2.55; p > .10		

*The responses of 114 students who did not respond to all three questions are omitted from the table.

TABLE 3
Relations Between Positive Attitude Toward Blacks, Number
of Blacks Known Well, and Trust in Blacks*

3a. About what percentage of Negroes do you feel you can trust?									
0-20%			21-50%			51-100%			
Do you like the average Negro you have met?	Almost all or most	Some	Few, hardly any, or none	Almost all or most	Some	Few, hardly any, or none	Almost all or most	Some	Few, hardly any, or none
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
About how many Negroes would you say you know well?									
0	02 (1)	20 (11)	78 (42)	41 (24)	29 (17)	29 (17)	69 (35)	24 (12)	08 (4)
1-2	23 (12)	21 (11)	56 (29)	43 (25)	41 (24)	16 (9)	85 (58)	10 (7)	04 (3)
3 or more	27 (8)	23 (7)	50 (15)	56 (28)	28 (14)	16 (8)	86 (56)	11 (7)	03 (2)
	$\chi^2 = 14.05; p < .001$			$\chi^2 = 6.69; p > .10$			$\chi^2 = 7.00; p < .05$		

3b. Do you like the average Negro you have met?									
About how many Negroes would you say you know well?	Almost all or most			Some			Few, hardly any or none		
	0	1-2	3 or more	0	1-2	3 or more	0	1-2	3 or more
About what per- centage of whites do you feel you can trust?	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
0-20%	05 (1)	57 (12)	38 (8)	38 (11)	38 (11)	24 (7)	49 (42)	34 (29)	17 (15)
21-50%	31 (24)	32 (25)	36 (28)	31 (17)	44 (24)	25 (14)	50 (17)	26 (9)	24 (8)
51-100%	23 (35)	39 (58)	38 (58)	46 (12)	27 (7)	27 (7)	44 (4)	33 (3)	22 (2)
	$\chi^2 = 7.61; p < .025$			$\chi^2 = 2.49; p > .10$			$\chi^2 = 0.96; p > .10$		

TABLE 3
Relations Between Positive Attitude Toward Blacks, Number
of Blacks Known Well, and Trust in Blacks*

3c. About how many Negroes would you say you know well?									
Do you like the ave- rage Negro you have met?	Few, hardly any, or none			Almost all or most			Few, hardly any, or none		
	Almost all or most	Some	Few, hardly any, or none	Almost all or most	Some	Few, hardly any, or none	Almost all or most	Some	Few, hardly any, or none
About what percentage of Negroes do you feel you can trust?	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
0-20%	02 (1)	20 (11)	78 (42)	23 (12)	21 (11)	56 (29)	27 (8)	23 (7)	50 (15)
21-50%	41 (24)	29 (17)	29 (17)	43 (25)	41 (24)	16 (9)	56 (28)	28 (14)	16 (8)
51-100%	69 (35)	24 (12)	08 (4)	85 (58)	10 (7)	04 (3)	86 (56)	11 (7)	3 (2)
	$\chi^2 = 68.45; p < .001$			$\chi^2 = 71.93; p < .001$			$\chi^2 = 43.06; p < .001$		

*The responses of 113 students who did not respond to all three questions are omitted from the table.

TABLE 4
Relation Between Negative Stereotyping of Blacks, Positive
Attitude Toward Blacks, and Number of Blacks Known Well*

4a. About how many Negroes would you say you know well?									
Number of negative stereotypes expressed	0			1-2			3 or more		
	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2
Do you like the average Negro you have met?	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Almost all or most	78 (53)	12 (8)	10 (7)	78 (88)	12 (14)	10 (11)	87 (87)	06 (6)	07 (7)
Some	71 (35)	22 (11)	06 (3)	62 (28)	20 (9)	18 (8)	74 (20)	11 (3)	15 (4)
Few, hardly any, or none	40 (27)	31 (21)	28 (19)	41 (17)	17 (7)	41 (17)	48 (12)	20 (5)	32 (8)
	$\chi^2 = 22.66; p < .001$			$\chi^2 = 24.27; p < .001$			$\chi^2 = 18.22; p < .001$		

4b. Do you like the average Negro you have met?									
Number of negative stereotypes expressed	Almost all or most			Some			Few, hardly any, or none		
	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2
About how many Negroes would you say you know well?	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
0	78 (53)	12 (8)	10 (7)	71 (35)	22 (11)	06 (3)	40 (27)	31 (21)	28 (19)
1-2	78 (88)	12 (14)	10 (11)	62 (28)	20 (9)	18 (8)	41 (17)	17 (7)	41 (17)
3 or more	87 (87)	06 (6)	07 (7)	74 (20)	11 (3)	15 (4)	48 (12)	20 (5)	32 (8)
	$\chi^2 = 3.77; p > .10$			$\chi^2 = 4.39; p > .10$			$\chi^2 = 3.97; p > .10$		

TABLE 4
Relation Between Negative Stereotyping of Blacks, Positive
Attitude Toward Blacks, and Number of Blacks Known Well*

4c. Number of Negative Stereotypes Expressed									
About how many Negroes would you say you know well?	Almost all or most	Some	Few hardly any, or none	Almost all or most	Some	Few hardly any, or none	Almost all or most	Some	Few hardly any, or none
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
0	46 (53)	30 (35)	23 (27)	20 (8)	28 (11)	53 (21)	24 (7)	10 (3)	66 (19)
1-2	66 (88)	21 (28)	13 (17)	47 (14)	30 (9)	23 (7)	31 (11)	22 (8)	47 (17)
3 or more	73 (87)	17 (20)	10 (12)	43 (6)	21 (3)	36 (5)	37 (7)	21 (4)	42 (8)
	$\chi^2 = 20.14; p < .001$			$\chi^2 = 8.14; p < .025$			$\chi^2 = 3.57; p > .10$		

*The responses of 64 students who did not respond to all three questions are omitted from the table.